Kopsavilkums

Iedzīvotāju skaits lauku teritorijās ap Rīgu kopš 2000. gada palielinās galvenokārt migrācijas procesu rezultātā. Intensīva apbūve ir notikusi lauku teritorijās ap Rīgas pilsētu, kas saistās ne tikai ar izdevīgo ģeogrāfisko stāvokli, galveno autoceļu tuvumu, labo satiksmi, bet arī ar pakalpojumu pieejamību un sasniedzamību un ainaviski pievilcīgo dzīves telpu. Rezultātā veidojas jauni privātmāju ciemi, kā arī notiek jauno ciemu daļēja saplūšana ar vēsturiskajiem. Viens no pagastiem, kur kopš 2000. gada ir notikušas ievērojamas pārmaiņas apdzīvojumā – palielinājies iedzīvotāju skaits, notikusi strauja apbūve, ceļot jaunas dzīvojamās mājas, veidojot jaunus māju rajonus, jaunus ciemus, ir Babītes pagasts. Šīs pārmaiņas apdzīvojumā norāda uz intensīvu suburbanizācijas procesu šajā teritorijā. Pētījuma mērķis – raksturot pārmaiņas apdzīvojumā suburbanizācijas procesu ietekmē Babītes pagastā pēc 2000. gada.

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DIVERSITY OF GENTRIFICATION IN THE INNER CITIES OF RĪGA AND PRAGUE – THE CASE OF ĀGENSKALNS AND HOLEŠOVICE

Ģentrifikācijas daudzveidība Rīgas un Prāgas iekšpilsētā – Āgenskalna un Hološovices piemērs

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Abstract. This paper analyses gentrification from two perspectives - cultural consumption and changes in population composition as observed in two inner-city neighbourhoods that are gentrifying, Āgenskalns in Rīga and Holešovice in Prague. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were employed - such as field study and observation, Census data analysis, interview, analysis of reviews on internet platforms, as well as the mapping of results. The study revealed that both neighbourhoods experienced an influx of young and educated residents. It was also concluded that both neighbourhoods experienced major changes in the

cultural scene over the past years, turning from being once neglected to now very hip areas. The study also showed that Holešovice is more popular among foreigners than Āgenskalns. The findings suggest that the location of newly opened places in both neighbourhoods follows concentrated patterns.

Keywords: *gentrification, cultural consumption, population composition, inner cities, neighbourhood trajectories*

Introduction

The process of gentrification has been studied globally for the past several decades, with the research originally starting in the global West. With the changing of global development patterns, the definition of the term has slightly changed over the years, as well. Contemporary gentrification studies include social, economic, ethnic, and cultural aspects. With the currently booming culture of *hip* and aesthetic youngsters, it is important to observe the changes of the cultural scene particularly in gentrifying neighbourhoods. Globally, neighbourhoods that have a special, alternative atmosphere, for example – the artistic Montmartre in Paris, or the home of the carnival, Notting Hill in London - are often linked to gentrification processes. Gentrification, however, is not the same everywhere and a lot depends on the pre-conditions of urban development.

While most gentrification studies in the post-socialist space emphasize the importance of the real estate market, social exclusion in the inner city (Kovacs 2009; Kovacs et al. 2013), urban renewal in terms of new built gentrification by either state-funded or private investment (Sykora 2005), and the rent gap phenomena (Holm et. al. 2015), it is also claimed that gentrification is a process of migration and, therefore, studies on population composition changes are important. The newcomers, or gentrifiers, are often described as being young (under 40), often couples without children or single-person household owners, middle-class or having higher income than previous residents of the specific neighbourhood (Gorczynska 2017).

In former Socialist countries, some examples of gentrification, in terms of cultural consumption, might be the famous ruin bars of Budapest (Smith et. al. 2018) or Užupis – the self-proclaimed artist republic in the capital of Lithuania. However, the academic research of cultural aspects of gentrification is rather limited. The example from Vilnius shows that the pioneer gentrifiers were the artists, yet they were later followed by middle and upper-class residents (Standl and Krupickaite 2004), while the example from Warsaw shows that since the 1990s, the relationship between the cultural and the economic capital of specific residential groups has evolved (Gorczynska 2017).

This paper looks at gentrification from two different perspectives: cultural consumption and population composition. The neighbourhoods studied are Āgenskalns in Rīga, the capital of Latvia, and Holešovice in Prague, the capital of the Czech Republic (Czechia). Cultural consumption, in this context, is meant to be the consumption that is related to cultural and lifestyle activities, such as art galleries, designer cafes etc. In simple words, these are the modern *hipster* venues. The aim of this study is to research the cultural consumption and changes in the population composition in the neighbourhoods observed. The main tasks are to identify the

places, associated with the *hipster* culture and to map their geographic locations to identify the gentrifiers of both neighbourhoods.

Data and Methods

A Field Study was undertaken with the aim of observing and identifying examples of gentrified places, in terms of cultural consumption, in the neighbourhoods of Holešovice in Prague and Āgenskalns in Rīga. The field study took place in both neighbourhoods in late 2018 and January 2019. During the field study, the main focus was on artistic venues such as art galleries, markets, venues that are hosting contemporary art events, coffee roasteries, and, frankly speaking, venues that are often labelled as *hipster* places.

Interviews: During the research process, a semi-structured interview with the councillor for social policy of Prague 7, Ing. Jakob Hurrle, was conducted. The main questions of the interview were about the overall transformation of Holešovice in the past and the present, about cultural consumption and its patterns in Holešovice, and about future scenarios for the development of Holešovice as a gentrified neighbourhood.

Analysis of Tripadvisor, Foursquare, Facebook and Google reviews. After identifying gentrifying places in both Holešovice and Āgenskalns, an analysis of reviews of selected venues was made in order to understand who the main visitors are and what are the most common keywords they use to describe the specific place. Using this method, it must be noted that not all reviews written in the English language are written by residents of English speaking countries, therefore the nationality of visitors cannot always be defined.

Census data analysis: During the research process, the results of the Population Census of both countries were analysed. In the case of Czechia, the Population Census data from 2001 and 2011 was used. In the case of Latvia, data from 2000 and 2011 was used to compare the population composition of Āgenskalns and Holešovice and to observe the differences between the years.

Mapping of the gentrified places, which were identified during the field study. Software used: ArcGis 10.2.2.

The neighbourhoods studied

Āgenskalns, a neighbourhood in the inner city of Rīga, is located on the left side of the river Daugava. Originally, the area served as a vacation housing neighbourhood for German resident-citizens, which later turned into a neighbourhood populated mostly by artisans or simple workers, such as fishers, cabmen, anchor-men, wine barrel carriers etc. Mainly built in the 19th century, Āgenskalns can be described by its rather chaotic street network. Until WWI, the neighbourhood developed without a specific plan. Nowadays it is a gentrifying neighbourhood, with a gradual change in population composition, signs of a new-build gentrification, studentification and new cultural, lifestyle venues.

Holešovice is a part of the municipal district Prague 7 in the northern part of Prague, added to Prague in 1884. This neighbourhood was mainly built in the 19th century as well. Historically, the neighbourhood had a mixed function – it was heavily industrialized closer to the harbour, yet overall, it served as a residential neighbourhood for working class persons. Over the past 10 years it had experienced a rapid development and may now be considered as a "good address" to live (Hurrle, 2018). Nowadays it is regarded as a gentrifying neighbourhood, which has experienced a change in population composition, having signs of new-build gentrification and new cultural, lifestyle venues.

Results

While the population has declined in Āgenskalns and grown in Holešovice, decennial census data reveals that population composition has changed in both neighbourhoods (Table 1).

The percentage of persons aged 20-39 years has grown in both neighbourhoods, suggesting that the new, incoming residents are young people. This applies to both capital cities as well. While Āgenskalns shows an increase of 1% for people aged 65 years and more, the percentage of this same age group in Holešovice has decreased. Speaking of one-person households, the percentage has increased in both neighbourhoods and cities overall, however, the trend is more obvious in Āgenskalns and Rīga. The results also show that the percentage of university educated persons and residents having high socio-occupational status has grown in both neighbourhoods and cities.

Āgenskalns and Holešovice, both having a history of being residential neighbourhoods for mainly working-class persons, are currently gentrifying. The findings suggest that the new residents, who are, in this context, the gentrifiers, are young educated persons, often having a high socio-occupational status, which is a common pattern in the gentrification discourse. While other studies suggest that some of these gentrifiers might be expats (Cook 2010), the nationality of the residents of Rīga and Prague was not analysed in this paper.

Table 1. **Changes of population composition in Āgenskalns, Rīga, Holešovice and Prague** (source: Czech Statistical Office and Central Statistical Bureau of Latvia)

	Āgenskalns		Rīga		Holešovice		Prague	
	2000	**2011**	**2000**	**2011**	**2001**	**2011**	**2001**	**2011**
Population	34381	26819	764329	658640	14369	15262	1169 106	1268796
Mean age	39.6	41	39.8	41.8	43.2	40.05	41.3	41.9
People aged 20-39 years (in %)	28.9	30.9	28	30.3	31.2	40.1	29.5	35.00
People aged 65 years and over (in %)	16.9	17.9	15.7	18.6	20.00	14.9	16.00	15.8
1 person households (in %)	12.1	18.9	9.6	16.2	46.1	47.7	36.9	38.4

	Āgenskalns		Rīga		Holešovice		Prague	
	2000	2011	2000	2011	2001	2011	2001	2011
People living in home-ownership (in %)	36.8	60.9	55.4	71.6	25.6	46.00	48.4	52.6
University educated in population 15+ (in %)	19	30.3	19.9	30	12.8	19.9	16.2	20.7
High socio-occupational status among employed (in %)	23.1	34.8	23.1	33.4	11.7	17.2	13.2	16.5

The former industrial neighbourhood of Holešovice, as previously mentioned, has experienced significant changes in the past 10 years. Historically, as different parts of Prague 7, Holešovice was the poorer part, yet its neighbouring Letna was considered better, always being an elegant artist locale. However, this is now changing and the overall image of Holešovice has improved – which is also acknowledged by the rise of rent-pricing (Hurrle 2018). In terms of culture, the main changes have been observed on Komunardu street. While this street has always had many shops and facilities, they were rather more intended for proletarian residents, offering everyday services. Approximately 5 years ago this all started to change and now, besides the everyday facilities like mini-markets and key-cutter shops, Komunardu Street is also the home for several coffee shops and cafes. However, this street is not the only place for *hipsters* in Holešovice. Venues such as the Cross Club, DOX Centre for Contemporary Art, VNITROBLOCK, La Fabrika and others are welcoming both foreigners and locals.

The neighbourhood of Āgenskalns is quite diverse, having both Soviet housing and nationally preserved wooden buildings as well. The neighbourhood has lately been more welcoming for young persons, due to the relatively cheap rents (which are now starting to rise) and the close location to the city center. Due to the influx of younger inhabitants, including students, in the past 5-10 years Āgenskalns has experienced the opening of new cafes and some art venues as well. Yet, speaking of arts and the *hipster* lifestyle, the most prominent example that is always mentioned is the Kalnciema Quarter (Kalnciema kvartāls), located on Kalnciema street. Other examples of cultural consumption include the expansion of the café franchise Ezītis Miglā, the re-opening of the Āgenskalns Market, the seasonal art gallery Mākslai Vajag Telpu, the creative café Hāgenskalna Komūna and others.

Āgenskalns and Holešovice are located more than 1000 km from each other and have different historical backgrounds, with Holešovice having an important industrial past, but Āgenskalns being a residential neighbourhood since its beginning, yet both of the neighbourhoods have something in common as well – both are gentrified. While

there is evidence of new-build gentrification, studentification etc., the recent increase of cultural capital and cultural consumption is undeniable.

A similarity that both neighbourhoods share is the fact that the new cafes and restaurants also have a function in the hosting of creative events, such as concerts, pop-up shops, acoustic evenings etc. During the review analysis it was noted that most of these cafes were said to have a great variety of vegan/vegetarian options, which is nowadays a sign of trendiness. It also shows that the restaurant has a specific target audience.

Speaking of location for the *hipster* places, the main points in Āgenskalns are Kalnciema street itself and the area around the market (Figure 1), while in Holešovice it is Komunardu street and streets close to it – Tusarova and Delnicka (Figure 2), with small exceptions. This can be explained by the fact that Komunardu always had a kind of a shopping function, moreover, this street has tram tracks, therefore, it is easily accessible. The location of former factory buildings also plays a key role. Accessibility is also an important aspect for Āgenskalns – in front of the market building, there is a junction of 5 streets, which makes it easily accessible from different directions.
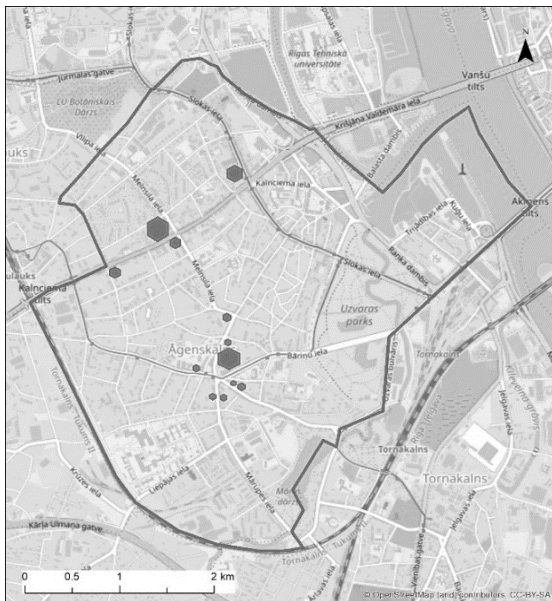

Figure 1. *Hip* **places in Āgenskalns,**
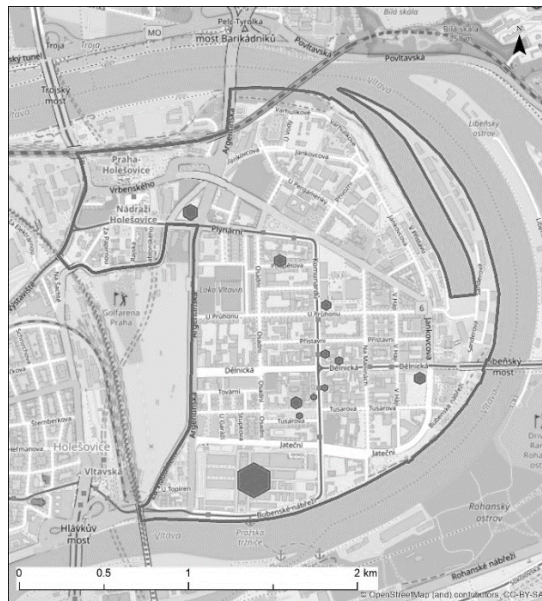**based on field study** (author's figure)

Figure 2. *Hip* **places in Holešovice,**
based on field study (author's figure)

In evaluating records on the analyzed social network sites, it seems that the case of Āgenskalns is completely opposite to Holešovice, in terms of reviews. While Āgenskalns had a notable lack of reviews from foreigners, it sometimes seemed that the venues studied in Holešovice lack local Czech reviews. Overall, the venues in Holešovice had much more reviews than the ones in Āgenskalns. This might be because the population of Prague is twice as large as the population of Rīga. Prague is also welcoming noticeably more tourists and migrants than does Rīga. The only place

that had a significant amount of foreigner reviews was the Kalnciema Quarter – perhaps since it is the most famous venue of this kind. In both cases, visitors of the venues studied were mainly young persons.

Conclusion

While gentrification might be a common discourse topic in Western countries, the studies in CEE countries mainly started only after the collapse of the Socialist regimes. It is usually seen from the perspective of real estate, privatization, the restitution policies of the 1990s, and changes in the socio-economic composition of the residents of a specific neighbourhood, yet less attention has been paid to cultural changes that have also come along.

Āgenskalns and Holešovice – both being classified as former working-class neighbourhoods (Holešovice has an industrial past, too) are currently experiencing changes, both in the compositional make-up of their residents and in cultural life. The findings suggest that the new residents, who are, in this context, the gentrifiers, are young, educated persons, often having a high socio-occupational status, which is a common pattern in the gentrification discourse. With the fast development of both neighbourhoods in recent years, new cultural facilities such as art galleries or concert venues have been opening alongside alternative cafés and co-working spaces. Most cafes of this kind also serve as concert venues. The venues in Holešovice are attracting visitors from all over the world, however, the findings suggest that only one place in Āgenskalns keeps up with the foreign visitors, while the rest is famous only among locals. Since the venues in Holešovice are popular among visitors, this also shows that gentrification is linked to touristification – the increase of tourists can contribute to the process of gentrification (Lees et. al. 2007). Geographically speaking, the main changes in Holešovice have been noticed on Komunardu street (and some streets crossing it), yet in Āgenskalns the leading spot is Kalnciema street, together with the area around the Āgenskalns market.

Since both neighbourhoods studied are currently experiencing an influx of new, mainly young residents, changes in the cultural scene and rising rent prices, the future development scenario remains rather unclear. The rent pricing must be controlled in order to stay affordable for middle-class residents, and the offer and demand for *hipster* places must be in balance. In addition, for a better understanding of the cultural consumption patterns in both Āgenskalns and Holešovice, there is need for further detailed investigation. An in-depth research, focused specifically on consumption patterns, would allow us to predict the possible future of the currently booming *hipster* cultural scene in Āgenskalns and Holešovice.

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Pētījuma mērķis ir analizēt ģentrifikāciju divās iekšpilsētas apkaimēs – Āgenskalnā (Rīgā) un Holešovicē (Prāgā) – divos aspektos – kultūrkapitāla patēriņš un iedzīvotāju sastāva pārmaiņas. Pētījumā izmantotas gan kvalitatīvās, gan kvantitatīvās metodes, piemēram, apkaimju apsekojums, tautas skaitīšanas rezultātu analīze, intervija, interneta platformu atsauksmju analīze un rezultātu kartēšana. Rezultāti parāda, ka abās apkaimēs ir palielinājies jaunu un izglītotu iedzīvotāju īpatsvars. Tāpat tika secināts, ka gan Āgenskalnā, gan arī Holešovicē pēdējo gadu laikā ir notikušas ievērojamas pārmaiņas kultūras dzīvē, kā rezultātā kādreiz novārtā pamestās apkaimes ir kļuvušas par pievilcīgām vietām. Rezultāti parāda, ka Holešovice, atšķirībā no Āgenskalna, ir arī ārzemnieku iecienīta un ka jaunatvērto moderno iestāžu atrašanās vietas abās apkaimēs nav izvēlētas nejauši.

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